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# ADLAI'S ALMANAC

THE WIT AND WISDOM OF  
STEVENSON  
OF ILLINOIS

Edited and Compiled by  
BESSIE R. JAMES & MARY WATERSTREET

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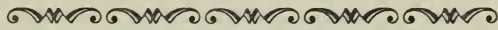


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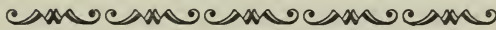
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# Adlai's Almanac



The Wit and Wisdom of  
**STEVENSON**  
of Illinois



edited and compiled by  
Bessie R. James  
&  
Mary Waterstreet

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# january

Governor

Today, Illinois stands at the threshold of another era—an era in which almost any event in any part of the world can have immediate and profound impact on us. Barriers of time and space no longer isolate or protect us. And to a degree hitherto undreamed, events in America have prompt repercussions around the globe. Many watch us intently. Our mistakes, our failures, all are quickly exploited by those who watch with malice.

. . . We who meet here in Springfield today can take a long step toward making our government a model, a precept in the best tradition of self government. . . . Nothing can stop us unless it be our own moral inadequacy, greed, selfishness, prejudice, excessive partisanship.

We are here, chosen by the people, not as party agents but as peoples' agents. A common concern for the future unites us. A common desire to serve the state unites us. . . . What Illinois can and must do is to make itself the strongest link in that mighty chain which we call the United States.

We can set our house in order. We can hearten our countrymen; we can demonstrate for all to see that representative government is healthy, vigorous, enterprising; that representative government is the best government. We can show the world what a government consecrated to plain talk, hard work and prairie horse-sense can do.

*Inaugural Address, Springfield, Ill., 1949*

## In Our Time

The sunrise of our century was bloody. God willing, the sunset will be golden.

*Springfield, Mo., 1950*

## Higher Education

Certainly one of the things we are defending is the future security and health of privately supported universities. . . . In turn we confidently expect them to defend for generations to come the spirit of free inquiry and fearless scholarship which is the basic condition of free men. . . . We will have to trust that the guardians . . . of the riches of our learning will never forget what the treasure they guard is, what it is composed of; . . . [that they] will never permit its vitality and beauty to be smothered by strong, arrogant men who burn books and bend thought to their liking, nor obscured by timid men trembling in the darkness of anxiety. . . .

[But] are the universities to be stripped of students in order to defend our cultural heritage? The young of college age are the seed corn of a society and a nation. To survive must we eat our seed corn? And if we do, can we survive? . . . Perhaps we have something to think about here as we enter the new and unexplored era of the garrison state.

. . . With a shudder [I ask] if it will be largely women who enjoy the benefits of more advanced education in the new era? Is the ancient tradition of masculine primacy in jeopardy? Heaven forbid! And I should think a little reflection on this appalling possibility by the male leaders in all countries could do more to insure peace than a balance of power in the world. It is high time . . . that we males begin to think of survival in terms of gender as well as nationality and ideology.

*Founders Day, Northwestern University, 1952*

## Small Boy

It reminds me of the small boy who jumbled his biblical quotations and said: "A lie is an abomination unto the lord, and a very present help in trouble."

*Springfield, Ill., 1951*

### Responsibility

No matter how lofty you are in your department, the responsibility for what your lowliest assistant is doing is yours.

*Springfield, Ill., 1952*

### State Government

. . . Centralization of governmental functions at higher and higher levels should be avoided. The states should not abdicate their responsibilities.

*Springfield, Ill., 1952*

### Public Schools

The most American thing about America is the free common school system. Here, democracy is at its best. . . .

We do not follow in America the jungle doctrine of the survival of the so-called fittest; we follow, rather, the doctrine of fitting as many as possible for survival. From kindergarten to university, in technical schools, agricultural schools, vocational schools, continuation schools, professional schools, evening schools, adult classes and libraries, we open the door of opportunity to all. It should be our purpose to make sure that that door is kept open in all parts of the State for all of the people without discrimination on account of race, creed, color, social condition, geographical location or economic position.

*Citizens School Committee, Chicago, 1948*

### Race Prejudice

I count it a privilege to have this opportunity to pay my respects to the National Urban League which for forty years, with moderation and reason, has reminded us that the American Negro needed not alms but opportunity. . . . The pattern has changed spectacularly in those years, in the South as well as in the North. Indeed, I often think that the progress in the South over ancient, solid walls of tradition is too little noted and appreciated. . . .

Yet the problem still remains, both North and South. Indeed our

illiteracy in human relations is . . . perhaps our foremost domestic problem. And now, suddenly, it has been further magnified . . . [by] those who manipulate and toy with the symbols of democracy, who would undermine our prestige, who in the hot war of ideas offer up as a program the paradox of democracy through dictatorship, liberty through repression, justice through tyranny, and freedom through thralldom.

. . . There are listeners everywhere. And I believe that the effectiveness of the Soviet Union has been chiefly due to one thing: it has made the miserable everywhere conscious of their misery. It has given distorted impetus to the newborn urgings and aspirations of oppressed and subjugated peoples. And it has stuck a mischievous finger into almost every country, including this one.

. . . A democracy qualified by color will win no hearts in Africa and Asia. The ramparts of democracy are not only in Korea, nor along the Western European defense line—they are right here in Cicero, Illinois, in Miami and Birmingham. Bigotry, intolerance, race violence and the social tensions they engender are not only serious handicaps upon our strength and unity as a nation, but they are a visible encumbrance on America's leadership in the world, where we must lead or lose. And to lead we will have to tell the world what we are for, not just what we are against.

. . . The real spectre is doubt and fear, bred of dogma and misinformation. So long as we serve the myth that progress must wait upon prejudice, so long will prejudice sit in judgment. . . .

Whatever our personal prejudices and shortcomings, problems in human relations must not be solved by violence. If they are, it means only that law and order have capitulated, and that we have cheaply surrendered to the enemies of democracy. . . .

The answer to communism is democracy; not less democracy, or just enough, but more. And democracy is color blind.

*New York, 1952*

Philosophy

I like to get people's ideas.

*Springfield, Ill.*



## Homework

I believe the General has been neglecting his home work.

## Problems

The way to solve a community problem is to get together with the neighbors.

\*

The better you do anything the more fun and satisfaction there is in it.

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TOLD BY THE GOVERNOR

Perhaps my function (at the festival) is not unlike that which a rural county judge was once called upon to play. Lingered in his chambers one Saturday afternoon after the close of the business week, he was suddenly confronted by a young G. I. who had unexpectedly received a 48-hour leave and who, having his intended in tow, thought to improve the time by getting married. The high hopes of the pair were dashed by the judge's kind but firm explanation that, without the license which could not be procured because the appropriate offices were closed, the ceremony itself could not be performed. The resulting gloomy silence was broken after a moment or so by the boy's hopeful question—"But, judge, couldn't you just say a few words to tide us over the week-end?"

# february

## Diplomacy

I hear it said, by the uninformed, that diplomacy is soft work. But don't you believe it, and if you're in desperate need of a bad attack of ulcers or galloping frustration, just go into diplomacy for a while, and you'll get both!

*Springfield, Ill., 1948*

## Campaign for Governor

. . . I want to give this assurance to the businessmen of this State: as Governor I shall do my best to emancipate you from paying tribute, from political shakedowns by State employees, to which, as I am informed, you have been subjected in recent years. If I don't wholly succeed, let me know, because I want servants, not solicitors on the State payroll!

*Bloomington, Ill., 1948*

\*

I am fortunate to be able to come back to my old home for the commencement of my campaign for Governor of Illinois. . . .

Many of you have asked me how and why I became a candidate for

Governor when I have never sought a public office before and wasn't even identified with the Democratic organization in Chicago.

. . . I accepted because I feel a little guilty. I have taken for granted the blessings of our free institutions. I don't any longer. I saw too much of the war, its dreadful destruction, waste and ghastly suffering. And I have seen enough of the fantastic difficulties and frustrations in making the enduring peace we all yearn for. I've seen too many people who are groping and no longer take for granted the blessings of freedom; and too many people who know what they want—and who want an alien, hostile tyranny to dominate the world. And, finally, I've seen how hard, how relentlessly and impersonally these people work for their ends—ends which contradict all the things we believe in.

I don't think we can rest on our ancient laurels any longer. I don't think we dare be indolent or indifferent. I don't think we should assert our rights vigorously, but accept our responsibilities reluctantly. . . .

I think that government is more than the sum of all the interests; it is the paramount interest, the public interest. It must be the efficient, effective agent of a responsible citizenry, not the shelter of the incompetent and the corrupt. It must be the positive business of all of us, and beneath the dignity of none of us. It must be the honorable calling the founders of a government by the governed meant it to be.

*Bloomington, Ill., 1948*

#### Christianity

Christianity must be embodied in the religious training of our young people, in adherence to Christian ideals, in the spread of liberal education, in social progress, in making known to the world by every means the true aims and the ways of democratic living.

*Lutheran Hour Program, Springfield, Ill., 1951*

#### Gambling

There is a price tag on good local government as there is on everything else.

*Atlantic Monthly, 1952*

## Welfare

Wisdom and humane understanding without the paltry compromises of the narrowly prudent are the proper guide to political action. Indeed, wisdom and humane understanding are the only things that are truly prudent.

*Springfield, Ill., 1949*

## Americans

I sometimes marvel at the extraordinary docility with which Americans submit to speeches.

*American Legion, Chicago, 1950*

## Atom Bomb

It is one of the tragic contradictions of our time that American strategy has organized the science and technology of the nation around weapons which are potentially most dangerous to itself and its friends.

*Chicago, 1950*

## Crime

Cynicism toward law enforcement is as old as government itself. When Solon was writing the laws of Athens, he was told that laws were like spiders' webs and would only entangle the poor and the weak, while the rich and powerful would easily break through them.

. . . In a democracy, there is no justification for such helpless cynicism. Nor is there any use to place the entire blame for crime and lax law enforcement upon a real or supposed alliance between criminals and politicians and to assume that the members of the public are helpless bystanders. . . .

The happy hunting ground of organized crime is in the area where too many people are disposed to participate in the breaking of a law.

*American Bar Association, Washington, D. C., 1950*

## Race Prejudice

. . . Many of the lamentable differences between Southern whites and Negroes, ascribed by insensitive observers to race prejudice, have arisen for other reasons. Here economically depressed whites and economically depressed Negroes often had to fight over already gnawed bones. Then there ensued that most pathetic of struggles: the struggle of the poor against the poor. It is a struggle that can easily become embittered, for hunger has no heart. . . .

So long as man remains a little lower than the angels, I suppose that human character will never free itself entirely from the blemish of prejudice, religious or racial. These are prejudices, unhappily, that tend to rise wherever the minority in question is large, running here against one group and there against another. Some forget this, and in talking of the South, forget that in the South the minority is high. Some forget, too, or don't know about strides the South has made in the past decade toward equal treatment.

But I do not attempt to justify the unjustifiable, whether it is anti-Negroism in one place, anti-Semitism in another. . . . And neither can I justify self-righteousness anywhere. Let none of us be smug on this score, for nowhere in the nation have we come to that state of harmonious amity between racial and religious groups to which we aspire.

The political abuse of the problem of discrimination in employment, the exploitation of racial aspirations on the one hand and racial prejudice on the other—all for votes—is both a dangerous thing and a revolting spectacle in our political life. It will always be better to reason together than to hurl recriminations at one another.

*Richmond, 1952*

## Inflation and Taxes

Those who let their politics impeach their honesty tell you that inflation is the product of governmental waste and mismanagement. . . . [This] is pure poppycock. It's like a husband coming into the kitchen, seeing one potato peeling that is too thick, and exploding that now he knows why you can't make ends meet. I'm for the government's peel-

ing its potatoes with a sharp knife and a miserly eye, . . . [but] meeting a nation's inflation problem is [not] that simple. . . .

We have inflation today—not disastrous, but serious—because the gods of war, working through their agents in the Kremlin, have dumped a barrel of yeast in the bread of our economy.

American industry has been suddenly called upon to make tens of billions of dollars' worth of guns and planes and tanks and bombs. This is the yeast which causes inflation. . . . When we pay for these guns by borrowing money we contribute to inflation. When we collect taxes to pay for them we help stop inflation.

I don't like taxes. We must spend to be safe and taxes are better than inflation.

*Baltimore, 1952*

#### Government Salaries

. . . One of the most pressing needs of good government . . . is adequate compensation to attract able and honest men into the executive departments. . . . I don't know the best method to deal with it except to pay higher salaries. . . . But uniform salary scales in government are never as satisfactory or equitable as the flexibility in private employment because, of course, the responsibility and work loads vary greatly from position to position.

*Baltimore, 1952*

#### Government Economy

. . . Saving money in government requires above everything else hard-headed, tight-fisted, vigorous leadership—by men who are passionately concerned with getting the job done at the lowest possible cost—men who will instill a deep feeling for thrift in all branches and at all levels of public service. . . .

In Washington, civilian leadership is most important to the military, because that is where the great bulk of our tax dollars are spent. We must make sure that wastage of our silver is not a privilege of our high brass. . . . From what I have seen I am not persuaded that

either their education or experience or inclination is the best insurance of thrift with public funds. . . .

We can do much more to make our smaller units of government strong and vigorous and efficient. . . . I think it is time for a kind of national stocktaking and a good deal more self-discipline in what we ask our national government to do for us. Perhaps you have heard about the Chamber of Commerce that sent off two letters to a Senator in the same mail. One of the letters demanded an immediate and drastic reduction in the Federal budget. The other demanded a ten-million dollar appropriation for a harbor improvement which the Chamber of Commerce wanted for its hometown. . . .

You know how it is; anything that helps the other fellow is extravagance; anything that helps you is a necessity. . . . What each of us must do is to stretch our minds and look at these things the way the President and the Congress have to look at them—from the standpoint of the whole nation.

The only way you could cut tens of billions from your budget would be to disband our armies, renounce our friends abroad, quit buying airplanes and guns, cancel our present defense orders and, presumably, crawl into a cave to await destruction.

*Indianapolis, 1952*

#### Our Time

The phase through which we are passing now will, I believe, be looked upon in the long view of history as an eddy in the strong stream of progress toward higher public and private stands of ethics.

*Knights of Columbus, Chicago, 1952*

#### Human Resources

. . . Even more important than the development of our natural resources are the human resources of these United States—the blood, and the sinew, the imagination, the minds, the hopes and the ambitions of all of our people.

*Merced, Calif., 1952*

## Education

Quest for truth is the essential purpose of all education.

*Springfield, Ill.*

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## TOLD BY THE GOVERNOR

I remember the story of a man in my home town of Bloomington who was interviewed by a newspaper reporter on his 100th anniversary. After congratulating the old gentleman on his anniversary the reporter asked him a few questions: "To what do you attribute your longevity?" The centenarian thought for a moment and holding up his hand and ticking off the items on his fingers, began; "I never smoked, I never drank liquor, and I never overate; and I always rise at six in the morning." To that the reporter remarked: "I had an uncle who acted the same way but he only lived to be eighty. How do you account for that?" "He didn't keep it up long enough," came the reply.



# march

## Campaign for Governor

Good government—honest government cannot exist side by side with bad politics.

The best government is the best politics.

*Herrin, Ill., 1948*

\*

I have read . . . the speech made by our Governor [Dwight Green] when he opened the Republican campaign [for reelection]. . . . His speech damns me with being on leave from “the striped pants brigade to the Roosevelt-Truman State Department”. . . . Damned or striped I will keep my pants on.

*Peoria, Ill., 1948*

## Church

The church teaches the dignity of man and devotion to God and country. These are likewise fundamental precepts of government as we understand it. The stamping out of slavery in every form, the preservation of the rights of individual citizens, the protection of the dignity of man, the elimination of intolerance, and the preservation of religious freedom, all these are things to which the churches and free governments are jointly committed.

*Civic Reception for Bishop William A. O'Connor, Springfield, Ill., 1949*

## Our Country

. . . Our Republic can be no better, no stronger than the states which comprise it; our states no better, no stronger than their local communities. The whole can be no stronger than the people it governs.

*Philadelphia Bulletin Forum, 1950*

## The Cat Bill

I herewith return, without approval, Senate Bill No. 93 entitled "An Act to Provide Protection to Insectivorous Birds by Restraining Cats. . . ." It would impose fines on owners or keepers who permitted their cats to run at large off their premises. It would permit any person to capture, or call upon the police to pick up and imprison, cats at large. . . . I cannot agree that it should be the declared public policy of Illinois that a cat visiting a neighbor's yard or crossing the highway is a public nuisance. It is in the nature of cats to do a certain amount of unescorted roaming. . . . I doubt if we want to make their every brief foray an opportunity for a small game hunt by zealous citizens—with traps or otherwise. . . . Also consider the owner's dilemma: To escort a cat abroad on a leash is against the nature of the cat, and to permit it to venture forth for exercise unattended into a night of new dangers is against the nature of the owner. Moreover, cats perform useful service, particularly in rural areas, in combatting rodents—work they necessarily perform alone and without regard for property lines.

. . . The problem of the cat versus bird is as old as time. If we attempt to resolve it by legislation who knows but what we may be called upon to take sides as well in the age-old problems of dog versus cat, bird versus bird, or even bird versus worm. In my opinion . . . local governing bodies in Illinois already have enough to do without trying to control feline delinquency.

*Springfield, Ill., 1949*

## Patriotism

. . . Patriotism is not the fear of something; it is the love of something. . . . Patriotism with us is not hatred of Russia; it is love of this republic; it is love of the ideal of liberty of man and of mind in which this republic was born and to which it is dedicated.

With this patriotism—patriotism, in its large and wholesome meaning—America can master its power and turn it to the noble cause of peace. . . . Of good heart and good cheer, faithful to ourselves and our traditions, we can lift the cause of free men so high no power on earth can tear it down. . . . Living, speaking, like men—like Americans—we can lead the way to our rendezvous in a happy and peaceful world.

*American Legion Convention, New York, 1952*

## Woman's World

I live in a woman's club. For a number of years the Woman's Club and Amateur Music Club have held meetings on the first floor of the Executive Mansion. Now you can imagine my feelings when I forget a meeting is on and pop in unannounced.

*Springfield, Ill.*

## Provincialism

The story goes that when General Eisenhower called at the White House after resigning his European duties he asked the President whether it was true he was constantly under attack by the opposition. Truman advised his visitor that if he aspired to the presidency, he should first off go to Africa, shoot a very old rhinoceros and wrap the tough hide around his person, tying it with heavy wire.

Eisenhower next inquired about the Point Four program. After listening to the President report the lack of success in several overpopulated countries the General said the remedy was simple—teach them birth control.

*At dinner with friends, Springfield, Ill.*

## Home Town

I have Bloomington to thank for the most important lesson I have ever learned: that in quiet places, reason abounds; that in quiet people there is vision and purpose; that many things are revealed to the humble that are hidden from the great.

I don't know whether Bloomington is—really—unique and different. But I do know that it is a truly American city. I do know that it is not too big, not too small—not too rich, not too poor, not too radical, not too conservative—a city half rural, half industrial.

Here from my parents and grandparents, from . . . the friends of my boyhood . . . I learned that good government is good politics, and that public office doubled the responsibility that a man felt in his own home, his own neighborhood, his home town. I hope and pray that I can remember the great truths that seem so obvious in Bloomington but so obscure in other places.

*Bloomington, Ill., 1948*

## Taxes, Spending and Inflation

We must not let the Kremlin make public policy for the United States by guile and deceitful gestures. . . . The Communists are counting upon us . . . [to] relax, . . . cut down on the defense effort and maybe even cut defense taxes.

*Veterans of Foreign Wars, Springfield, Ill., 1951*

## Penny-Pinching

Now Ed [ex-law partner, J. Edward Day, Director, Department of Insurance, State of Illinois], we have got ourselves into this Presidential campaign and we have to have national headquarters. I wish you'd go over to one of the hotels or the Elks Club and see about a great big room for office space. Then get four bedrooms for staff members with a place to cook breakfasts and lunches because that will save money. See that our people turn out lights when they aren't in use.

*Executive Mansion, Springfield, Ill., 1952*

Humor

[What would AES do if the Democrats drafted him?] Shoot myself, I guess.

*Camp Ripley, Minn., 1952*

Korea

There is, of course, no tidy solution to the Korean problem, precisely because it is only a part of the whole Soviet imperialist drive—an episode, really, in the sweep of history which relentlessly confronts freedom with thralldom.

*Foreign Affairs Quarterly Review, 1952*

Tyranny

In the age-old struggle against tyranny over the bodies and minds and the souls of men we know there can be no respite, no rest, no hesitation, no turning back.

*Chicago, 1950*

Taxes, Spending and Inflation

We do not get something for nothing in government or in anything else.

*Dedication of Stevenson Field, Farmersville, Ill., 1950*

Natural Heritage

Mother was a good dirt gardener and saw to it Buffie and I studied nature lore. I guess that may be why I like a fine vegetable garden and trees; on my own hearth I like to burn the wood I've gathered on my land.

*Springfield, Ill.*

Childhood Recollections

I have been in the dog house more than once and cannot say that I minded. I have always enjoyed the company of dogs. As a child I found comfort in the dog house. After childish misdeeds followed by

reprimands I would retire there. On one occasion I fell asleep and my concerned parents found me only after exhausting all other possibilities.

My parents were vitamin conscious. How often my mother used to call to me at play from the door, "Adlai, come and get your orange juice," a call that did not make me popular with new playmates! I rarely take orange juice now.

*Springfield, Ill.*

#### Human Welfare

The true aim of public welfare is not merely the administration of charity to unfortunate people, but, more basically, the reclamation of minds and bodies and souls, and the restoration of these people to lives of happiness and usefulness.

*Jacksonville, Ill., 1950*

#### Education

The function of a university is the search for truth and its communication to succeeding generations.

*Urbana, Ill., 1950*

#### American Intelligence

I believe that in 99 cases out of a hundred, the American people will make the right decision—if and when they are in possession of the essential facts about any given issue.

*Fairfield, Ill., June 1950*

#### The Middle Road

We must thread our way between imperialism and isolationism, between the disavowal of the responsibilities of our power and the assertion of our power beyond our resources.

*Chicago, 1951*

#### Communism

Communism is the corruption of a dream of justice.

*Urbana, Ill., 1951*

### Military Strength

We must back up our hopes and prayers and words with the only kind of strength a military aggressor can understand . . . We want no more Munichs.

*Illinois National Guard, Sparta, 1949*

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### TOLD BY THE GOVERNOR

I recall a story told in Mexico. A man heavy in need and great in faith wrote a letter asking for 100 pesos. He addressed it to God and mailed it. The postmaster had no idea how to handle the letter. He opened it, seeking a clue. Touched by the man's story of need, he passed the hat among the postal employees. Thus 75 pesos were raised and placed in an envelope to await the return of the importuning man. A few days later he was back, inquiring for mail. He was given the envelope, opened it, counted the money and glowered. Then he went to the counter and painfully wrote another letter. It read: "Dear God: I am still 25 pesos short. Please make up the difference. But don't send it through the local post office. I think it is full of thieves."

\*

. . . I feel a little like the old Confederate soldier, unarmed, ragged and asleep, whom some zealous young Union soldiers captured. "Get up, Reb, we got you," they shouted. "Yeh," the weary old fellow mumbled, "and it's a heck of a git you got."

# april

## Foreign Policy

. . . The Democratic party has been consistently the party of strength—and thus the party of peace. With equal consistency, the opposition has been the party of weakness—the party which persists in the dreary obsession that we must fear above all, not the Kremlin, but our own government. . . .

Let's talk sense to the American people. Peace is far more important than who wins this election. Whichever party wins, the American people must be sure to win. Let us not place victory in a political campaign ahead of national interest, and let's talk sense about what we have gained by our determination, our expenditures, and our valor in Korea.

We have not merely said, we have proven, that Communism can go no further unless it is willing to risk world war.

We have proven to all the people of the Far East that Communism is not the wave of the future. . . .

We have blocked the road to Communist domination of the Far East and frustrated the creation of a position of power which would have threatened the whole world.

We have asserted, and we shall maintain it, that whenever Communist soldiers choose freedom after falling into our hands, they are free.

We have kept faith with our solemn obligations.

These are the values won by the fidelity and prowess and the sac-



rifices of young men and women who serve their country. . . . We pray God that the sacrifices and the sorrows will soon end. . . .

I would say one thing more about the great debate over foreign policy. My opponents say the threat to our liberty comes from within. I say that the threat comes from without—and I offer the fate of the enslaved peoples of the world as my evidence.

My opponents say that America cannot afford to be strong. I say that America cannot afford to be weak.

I promise no easy solutions, no relief from burdens and anxieties, for to do this would be not only dishonest, it would attack the foundations of our greatness.

I can offer something infinitely better: an opportunity to work and sacrifice that freedom may flourish. For, as William James truly said, “When we touch our own upper limit and live in our own highest center of energy, we may call ourselves saved.”

I call upon America to reject the new isolationism and to surpass her own glorious achievements. Then we may with God’s help, deserve to call ourselves the sons of our fathers.

*Louisville, Ky., 1952*

#### We All Labor

When I was a boy I never had much sympathy for a holiday speaker. He was just a kind of interruption between the hot dogs, a fly in the lemonade.

This is Labor Day. . . . Labor problems carry a high voltage these days. People make up their minds about who’s right or wrong and what’s right or wrong with little or no knowledge of the facts. Most of them react like the tired mother when she hears late afternoon bickering in the back yard: “Go see what Willie’s doing and tell him not to.”

There are three parties to labor disputes—the workman, the company, and the public. And speaking for the public, I say that one of the biggest needs in the labor field today is the development of an informed and fair-minded public attitude toward labor problems.

. . . The spectre of unemployment and depression haunts every-

one who has to work for a living, and that's most of us these days. The Democratic Party is proud of the steps it has proposed and the country has taken these past 20 years to conquer this recurrent misfortune. But, like peace on earth, the goal has not been won. And, like the quest for peace, we must keep everlastingly at the cause and cure of economic disaster. There is work in this country for every one of us. That must always be. And when we talk of social security we talk of keeping the core of social security strong—not just of insurance against insecurity but of eliminating the causes of insecurity.

*Flint, Mich., 1952*

#### I Am I

. . . I don't feel like a gift from Providence, and I really don't believe I am. I feel very much like a corn-fed Illinois lawyer who had gotten into the big time unintentionally.

. . . I hate thieves. I don't like big government. I like free men, free markets, free ideas, freedom to succeed or to fail. But I know that this is the 20th Century; and most of the Republican leaders don't know that.

. . . It would be a sad thing . . . if a great soldier [Eisenhower] to whom we owe undying affection and gratitude ended up politically between the two Republican Parties like that mule I heard about one time that starved to death standing between two stacks of hay, trying to make up his mind which to eat.

*Denver, Col., 1952*

#### Campaign for Governor

. . . Some day I want to come to Hamilton County, Ill., just to visit. . . . I want particularly to go to Persimmon Ridge . . . and meet its Mayor. He has a job, I understand, that would interest me after six weeks of campaigning. I believe his principal responsibility is to see that one street light goes off and on at the right time.

*McLeansboro, 1948*

## Politics

I am an amateur in politics.

*49th Ward Meeting, Chicago, 1948*

## Immigrants

It may be a bitter pill for the complacent, but it is also true that self-government is often more meaningful to the recent immigrants than it is to those who take its blessings for granted. The immigrant comes to our land with homely classic concepts of democracy. He is apt to know what too many of us forget; that no form of government demands such vigilance, such civic virtue, such public spirit and such intelligence. Without the challenge that is presented by the newcomer, complacency, cynicism, disillusion, might long since have transformed our society into a stagnant breeding place for totalitarian pests.

*Chicago, 1948*

## Lloyd Lewis Funeral

. . . Friendship is the greatest enrichment that I have found.

*Libertyville, Ill., 1949*

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TOLD BY THE GOVERNOR

It is like little Willie's new baby brother. As soon as the baby was born Willie hurried to spread the news around the neighborhood. He was telling his young friend Johnny: "We have a new baby at our house and it cost \$100." To which Johnny replied: "Gee, one hundred dollars is a lot of money just for a baby." "Yes," Willie agreed, "but think how long they last."

# may

## Communism

A campaign addressed not to men's minds and to their best instincts, but to their passions, emotions and prejudices, is unworthy at best. Now, with the fate of the nation at stake, it is unbearable. . . .

We are not . . . a race of whimpering adolescents who can't face the truth, but a race of men and women, proud, courageous and unafraid. I shall state the facts as they appear to me from some years of experience, not only in domestic affairs but in foreign affairs. The Republican leadership blows thin drafts of crafty words down your neck, but it fails to tell you the following things. Eighty-five per cent of the Federal budget goes for past wars and for preserving our present and our future liberty. The world has been at war almost continuously now for forty years. The intervals between the wars grow shorter; the wars increase in dimension and in destructiveness. The last war was man's first true world war. The revolutions of our times are man's first revolutions; their flames burn from one end of the globe to the other. The inter-continental airplane makes counties of continents; it makes lakes of oceans. . . .

Long ago we asserted a great principle on this continent: that men are, and of right ought to be, free. Now we are called upon to defend that right against the mightiest forces of evil ever assembled under the sun.

This is a time to think, a time to feel, a time to pray. We shall need all of the resources of the stubborn mind, the stout heart, the soul refreshed, in the task that confronts us.

It is the most awesome task that any people has ever faced. For we are become the leader and mainstay of one great wing of humanity in conflict with another wing of humanity. As such, we must play the principal part in saving ourselves, our friends, and our civilization.

Whose task is this? It is inescapably your task. You and you alone will decide the fate of your family and your country for decades to come. You will decide whether you are to be slaves or free—to live gloriously or perish miserably. You may seek comfort at the feet of false leaders who, like medicine doctors, beat drums to ward off evil spirits. You may listen to false leaders who tell you that there is an easy way; that all you have to do is elect them and thereafter relax in a tax-free paradise—the political equivalent of sending ten cents to cover the cost of postage. You may, fearing to face the facts squarely, be distracted by phoney issues that have no bearing upon the life and death controversy of our times. But, so deluded, you run the risk of being beguiled to destruction, for there is no easy way

What is the lesson of history and of all human experience? What is the primary law of life? You struggle and you survive—you fail to struggle and you perish. The ways of the world are marked with the bones of people who hesitated.

Your salvation is in your own hands; in the stubbornness of your minds, the tenacity of your hearts, and such blessings as God, sorely tried by His children, shall give us. Nature is indifferent to the survival of the human species, including Americans.

*Chicago, 1952*

#### Exodus from Illinois

I am very much touched and flattered also to find in the audience here this afternoon a lady over 80 years of age who came from my home town in Bloomington, Illinois. . . . She traveled with my mother in Europe over 60 years ago. You do me great honor, Mrs. Reed, and I should like very much to bundle you into my airplane and take you back to Illinois. In fact, we had better take somebody back to Illinois pretty soon, because they are all moving out here.

*Tucson, Ariz., 1952*

## Rationalizing

I tell you now that I will never fear to negotiate in good faith with the Soviet Union, for to close the door to the conference room is to open a door to war. Man's tragedy has all too often been that he has grown weary in the search for an honorable alternative to war, and, in desperate impatience, has turned to violence.

*Hamtramck, Mich., 1952*

## Gold and Glitter

. . . If [a candidate] purported to know the right answer to everything, he would be either a knave or a fool.

. . . That "politics" and "politicians" have become words of disrepute and abuse, epithets if you please, instead of words of honor and respect is nothing new, but it seems to me paradoxical and very sad in a republic governed by the governed.

. . . The reward for honest, able public service is too often complaint, criticism, abuse and ingratitude. It would be a tragic disaster if we forget the tens of thousands of honest, conscientious public servants. . . . When you realize that American private business is swindled out of more than a billion dollars each year by its employees, from clerks to executives, it is not too remarkable, however deplorable, that government should occasionally be swindled.

For the information of the public and the morale of the multitude of decent, faithful men and women on whom government depends, it is just as important to recognize and support the good as it is to root out and to punish the bad.

. . . Just remember that all that's gold to a politician does not glitter, and that to be good and stay in office he needs a lot of help from people who don't want anything from him except to be good.

*Los Angeles, 1952*

## Upward and On

. . . I should like to be one of those who, like many of you here in the Central Valley, keep your eyes always lifted to something better—

some better hope for the future, whether it is water, whether it is a higher degree of yield, whether it is even more special crops.

*Merced, Calif., 1952*

#### Free Press

. . . The rock bottom foundation of a free press is the integrity of the people who run it. Our press may make a million mistakes of judgment without doing itself permanent harm so long as its proprietors are steadfast in their adherence to truth.

. . . I am, frankly, considerably concerned when I see the extent to which we are developing a 1-party press in a 2-party country.

. . . As an ex-newspaperman and as a citizen, I am gravely concerned about the implications of this 1-party system for our American press and our free society.

A free society means a society based on free competition and there is no more important competition than competition in opinion. This form of competition is essential to the preservation of a free press. Indeed, I think the press should set an example to the Nation in increasing opposition to uniformity.

. . . I know the people are smarter than many politicians think and sometimes I suspect that even editors underestimate them. Let's not forget that the free press is the mother of all our liberties and of our progress under liberty.

. . . This generation has been summoned to a great battle—the battle to determine whether we are equal to the task of world leadership. I will say to you that I am deeply persuaded that the press can be our shield and our spear in this battle.

. . . We should be able to look to the press for much of the sober certainty that will carry us to victory and peace. Our government and our arms and our wealth will avail us little if the editors do not accept this invitation to greatness. The agents of confusion and fear must not usurp the seats of the custodians of truth and patriotism.

In saying this, I want to emphasize my belief that the leadership for this development of a free press must come entirely from the pro-

fession itself. Government has its cooperative part to play. It must do everything possible to oppose censorship and to free the channels of communication. Beyond that point, it cannot safely go. The basic job can be done only within and by the free press itself, by you gentlemen. I know you can do it superbly. We have solemn reason to pray it will be done that way.

*Portland, Ore., 1952*

#### Peace

Ours is a sad, disillusioned world. Too many people on this blood-soaked, battered globe live in constant fear and dread; fear of hunger and want, dread of oppression and slavery. Poverty, starvation, disease and repression stalk the world and over us all hangs the menace of war like a gloomy shroud. But everywhere people cling to their hope and their faith in freedom and justice and peace—though fear, anguish, even death, are their daily lot.

Why? Because the Master's teachings forever nourish the soul and the spirit of men. And westward the land is bright. Amid this mounting misery the United States is the symbol of hope. . . . It is hard for us to realize that our example, our aid, our very existence is the hope of millions, silent, unseen millions, allied with us in the struggle with the new tyranny that may well decide the fate of the world for generations. Our best weapon in that struggle and our best hope for the peace which is the most important unfinished business of our generation is our own democracy, because our democracy rests on those eternal principles of justice, freedom and practical, concrete acceptance of the dignity and worth of every human being.

*Springfield, Ill., 1948*

#### Education

If we have any greater responsibility than giving our boys and girls a good common school education I don't know what it is.

*Radio Report to the people of Illinois, May 13, 1949*

#### Home Town

I had been away from my home town of Bloomington a number of years and was asked to return to give a speech. I had not expected a



brass band, but I was a little surprised to find no welcoming committee. So I picked up my bag and as I passed Abe, an old baggageman who had known me since I was a boy, he raised his head and said, "Hello Ad. Been away?"

For the People

I think that obviously there are limitations on the extent to which government should go and those limitations should be established by the common sense yardsticks of public necessity, of cost, and of potential benefits to the people. Where private enterprise can and is willing to do the job I think it should be left free to do so. . . .

But where private initiative is incapable of, or for any reason fails to meet the legitimate needs of the people, whether it be for electric power or anything else, then I believe government will and should step in.

*Portland, Ore., 1952*

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#### TOLD BY THE GOVERNOR

There is a lesson for all of us in this rallying of our forces from every corner of Illinois. Perhaps I can best illustrate it with the story of the young man who approached the father of his intended bride to seek his approval of the marriage. The father was skeptical. "I doubt very much," he said, "that you would be able to support my daughter—I can hardly do it myself." To which the young suitor offered the bright suggestion: "We'll just have to pool our resources."

\*

My predicament reminds me of the little boy in the radio contest. He was asked to tell, in 25 words or less, why he liked this particular program. After considerable effort at finding the most impressive argument he could muster, the boy uttered this testimonial: "I like the Jack Smith show because as soon as it's over the Lone Ranger comes on."

# june

## Thought Control

Does anyone seriously think that a real traitor will hesitate to sign a loyalty oath? Of course not. Really dangerous subversives and saboteurs will be caught by careful, constant, professional investigation, not by pieces of paper.

The whole notion of loyalty inquisitions is a natural characteristic of the police state, not of democracy. Knowing his rule rests upon compulsion rather than consent, the dictator must always assume the disloyalty, not of a few but of many, and guard against it by continual inquisition and "liquidation" of the unreliable. . . .

The democratic state, on the other hand, is based on the consent of its members. The vast majority of our people are intensely loyal, as they have amply demonstrated. To question, even by implication, the loyalty and devotion of a large group of citizens is to create an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust which is neither justified, healthy nor consistent with our traditions. . . .

We must fight traitors with laws. We already have the laws. We must fight falsehood and evil ideas with truth and better ideas. We have them in plenty. But we must not confuse the two. Laws infringing our rights and intimidating unoffending persons without enlarging our security will neither catch subversives nor win converts to our better ideas. . . .

Finally, the states are not, in my judgment, equipped to deal with the threat of the world Communist movement which inspired this bill. Communism threatens us because it threatens world peace. The great problems with which Communism confronts us are problems of for-

eign relations and national defense. Our Constitution wisely leaves the solution of such matters to the national government.

In conclusion, while I respect the motives and patriotism of the proponents of this bill, I think there is in it more of danger to the liberties we seek to protect than of security for the Republic. It reverses our traditional concept of justice by placing upon the accused the burden of proving himself innocent. It makes felons of persons who may be guilty more of bad judgment than of anything else.

. . . I know that to veto this bill in this period of grave anxiety will be unpopular with many. But I must, in good conscience, protest against any unnecessary suppression of our ancient rights as free men. Moreover, we will win the contest of ideas that afflicts the world not by suppressing these rights but by their triumph. We must not burn down the house to kill the rats.

*Veto of Senate Bill 102, Springfield, Ill., 1951*

#### Acceptance Speech

. . . Let's talk sense to the American people. Let's tell them the truth, that there are no gains without pains, that we are now on the eve of great decisions, not easy decisions, like resistance when you're attacked, but a long, patient, costly struggle which alone can assure triumph over the great enemies of men—war, poverty and tyranny—and the assaults upon human dignity which are the most grievous consequences of each.

Let's tell them that the victory to be won in the twentieth century, this portal to the golden age, mocks the pretensions of individual acumen and ingenuity. For it is a citadel guarded by thick walls of ignorance and mistrust which will not fall before the trumpets' blast or the politicians' imprecations. . . . [They] must be directly stormed by the hosts of courage, of morality and wisdom, standing shoulder to shoulder, unafraid of ugly truth, contemptuous of lies, half truths, circuses and demagoguery. . . .

I ask of you all you have. I will give to you all I have . . . in the staggering task that you have assigned me. I shall always try "to do justly and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with my God."

*Acceptance Speech, Democratic National Convention, Chicago, 1952*

## Plea for the Searching Mind

Commencements are traditionally, perhaps even properly, a time for viewing with alarm, for oratorical anxiety over these tender young things about to attack the grisly old world in search of a secure foothold. And then the orators inevitably end up on a note of rugged confidence and spiritual exhilaration. Distasteful as it may be to both of us, I shall probably do the same, but with, I suspect, somewhat more disorder and confusion of thought than is conventional on such solemn and orderly occasions.

. . . Because there are few really educated, complete, balanced people on earth; because there are few specialists with the versatility of Leonardo da Vinci, or Thomas Jefferson, I am bold enough to suggest that you professional people especially should beware of any complacent idea that to know your own field well is enough. Unfortunately an education, so called, which should be only an introduction to humility and further inquiry, is too often an introduction to pride and mental paralysis.

So, with that brief plea for a restless, unsatisfied mind always open to everything except fear and prejudice, which, so far as I've been able to detect, is the only remedy for the humanist deficiencies of scientific education.

. . . I have even recently refreshed my recollection of what Paul said to the Corinthians about their morals. Indeed I have even earlier evidence of the malaise now current. This was written on an Assyrian tablet 4700 years ago:

“Our earth is degenerate in these latter days; bribery and corruption are common, children no longer obey their parents; every man wants to write a book, and the end of the world is evidently approaching.”

So maybe things are not as bad as they seem.

. . . That reminds me of the man who said he hoped we would soon get back to normal. I asked him for his definition. “That’s a condition,” he said, “where you have 1951 income, 1932 costs and 1911 taxes, all at one time.

Because the dangers are many it is a good time to be alive. Pitch

in and enjoy it. Be an active part of your world, not just part of your profession, and, who knows, the golden promise of this bloody century will yet be fulfilled. Meanwhile, you will earn a living in the most satisfying field of man's endeavor—by relieving human suffering. You are very fortunate, and I wish you Godspeed.

*University of Ill. Professional Schools, Chicago—June 15, 1951*

Campaign for Governor

. . . I don't believe irresponsible promises are good politics. Promise-peddling and double talk may be expedient and catch some votes from the unwary and innocent, but promises also have a way of coming home to roost.

*Peru, Ill., 1948*

Artie, the Governor's Dalmatian

Dogs take on man's best ways. Artie's loyalty is unquestioned but when the master is away Artie becomes lonely and takes to running around the neighborhood covering the same total area he was accustomed to exploring on the farm. Artie's disregard of city ordinance that forbids such vagabonding brings phone calls from neighbors. You see, most everyone knows Artie. He gets around a lot more than I do. In fact, when I go walking with him it's amazing how many greet us with, "Hello Artie."

However, he is a source of embarrassment to the police and me. After all a Governor's dog may not have to be above suspicion but he should at least try to obey the law. His confined life here is not according to his nature, so we all try to make allowances.

*Executive Mansion, Springfield*

Everyone is Important

Everyone has something to contribute to the welfare of his fellow man. No one is unimportant.

*Springfield, Ill.*

## Technicality

Legality is not a synonym for morality.

*Springfield, Ill.*

## Integration

Military power without a moral base is always intolerable.

*Springfield, Ill.*

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TOLD BY THE GOVERNOR

It sort of reminded me about that story of the little boy who heard his political father talking about converts and traitors—and he said to him, “Father, what is the difference between a convert and a traitor?” The father said, “Well, son, don’t you understand, if a Republican becomes a Democrat he is a convert, but if a Democrat becomes a Republican he is a traitor.”

\*

I feel like the young man who was engaged to marry one of twin girls who had a local reputation for beauty. His uncle asked him one day: “Well, Dick my boy, my congratulations. I hear you are engaged to marry one of the beautiful Smith twins. But tell me how on earth do you tell them apart?” To that the young man gave his uncle a broad grin and the glib reply: “That’s easy—I don’t even try.”

# july

## Welcoming Address

As Governor of the host state to the 1952 Democratic Convention, I have the honor of welcoming you [Democratic National Convention] to Illinois. . . .

Here on the prairies of Illinois and the Middle West we can see a long way in all directions. We look to east, to west, to north and south. Our commerce, our ideas, come and go in all directions. Here there are no barriers, no defenses, no ideas and aspirations. We want none; we want no shackles on the mind or the spirit, no rigid patterns of thought, no iron conformity. We want only the faith and conviction that triumph in free and fair contest. . . .

You are very welcome here. Indeed, we think you were very wise to come here for your deliberations in this fateful year of grace. For it was in Chicago that the modern Democratic story began. It was here just twenty years ago in the depths of shattering national misery at the end of a dizzy decade of Republican rule that you commenced the greatest era of economic and social progress in our history with the nomination of Franklin Roosevelt. . . .

But, our Republican friends say it was all a miserable failure. For almost a week pompous phrases marched over this landscape in search of an idea, and the only idea they found was that the two great decades of progress in peace, victory in war, and bold leadership in this anxious

hour, were the misbegotten spawn of bungling, corruption, socialism, mismanagement, waste and worse. They captured, tied and dragged that idea in here and furiously beat it to death.

After listening to our misdeeds awhile I was surprised the next morning when the mail was delivered on time! Our friends were out of patience, out of sorts and, need I add, out of office.

But we Democrats were not the only victims here. First they slaughtered each other, and then they went after us. And the same vocabulary was good for both exercises, which was a great convenience. Perhaps the proximity of the stockyards accounts for the carnage.

The constructive spirit of the great Democratic decades must not die here on its twentieth anniversary in destructive indignity and disorder. And I hope and pray, as you all do, that we can conduct our deliberations with a businesslike precision and a dignity befitting our responsibility, and the solemnity of the hour of history in which we meet.

For it is a very solemn hour indeed, freighted with the hopes and fears of millions of mankind who see in us, the Democratic party, sober understanding of the breadth and depth of the revolutionary currents in the world. . . .

This is not the time for superficial solutions and everlasting elocution, for frantic boast and foolish word. . . . Intemperate criticism is not a policy for the nation; denunciation is not a program for our salvation. . . .

Where we have erred, let there be no denial; where we have wronged the public trust, let there be no excuses. Self-criticism is the secret weapon of democracy, and candor and confession are good for the political soul. . . .

What counts now is not just what we are against, but what we are for. Who leads us is less important than what leads us—what convictions, what courage, what faith—win or lose. A man doesn't save a century, or a civilization, but a militant party wedded to a principle can. . . .

What America needs and the world wants is not bombast, abuse and double talk, but a sober message of firm faith and confidence. . . .

And let us remember that we are not meeting here alone. All the



world is watching and listening to what we say, what we do and how we behave. So let us give them a demonstration of democracy in action at its best—our manners good, our proceedings orderly and dignified. And—above all—let us make our decisions openly, fairly, not by the processes of synthetic excitement or mass hysteria, but, as these solemn times demand, by earnest thought and prayerful deliberation.

*Democratic National Convention, Chicago, 1952*

#### The Scopes "Monkey" Trial

*[AES, serving his apprenticeship as a reporter on the Stevenson family-owned (Bloomington, Ill.) Daily Pantagraph, sweated out a good part of July 1925 in Dayton, Tennessee, covering the trial of John T. Scopes, charged with teaching the theory of evolution in his classroom. Following are excerpts from Correspondent Stevenson's dispatches.]*

July 11 —

. . . Naturally the interest of the people is widespread and intense. However, the natural interest of citizens has been played upon and accelerated by modern publicity methods and by the prominence of the lawyers concerned in the prosecution and the defense. It has been charged that such men as William Jennings Bryan and Clarence Darrow are taking part in the case because of the personal prestige they enjoy as the limelight of publicity beats upon their bald heads. Both these men should be old enough, and enough experienced in the ways of the world, to resist any desire for cheap notoriety, and they can be given the benefit of a doubt when such charges are made. [AES wrote with authority, at least on the subject of Bryan whom he had known since boyhood. The Great Commoner was a close friend of Stevenson père.]

July 20 —

. . . If our mental processes as a nation have become so devitalized that we must be blindfolded and led by the hand, then it is high

time that those champions of democracy, who seize each patriotic occasion to reaffirm their belief in the infallibility of the great public mind, view with alarm our latter-day degradation. Truly if men and women cannot distinguish between right and wrong and profit from the Bible unless they know whether Genesis or evolution is right, then we have reached a sad state of incompetence.

July 21 —

St. Paul said, "The truth shall make you free." The most recent religious atavism is drawing to a close. . . .

We only wish that the legislature of Tennessee had paused to inquire whether the evolution theory is inconsistent with what is supposed to be essential to religious belief. . . .

According to Mr. Bryan, the issue is clear; the Christian religion cannot survive if the theory of evolution is true. What if the scientists are right, what if the anthropologists know more about the history of man than the theologians. If evolution is right must Christianity go into the discard? To pit the faith of millions against the universal opinion of scientific men exposes the millions to the conclusion that if science is right then their whole religion is wrong. So Mr. Bryan has quite unconsciously balanced the whole of Christianity against a scientific theory.

July 22 —

Twelve reasonable men have found Thomas Scopes guilty of violation of the intellectual obscenity law down in Tennessee and he has accordingly been fined \$100. Thus endeth the first chapter in a comedy both amusing and humiliating. . . .

Certain laws of human psychology are almost inflexible. Forbidden fruit is always the sweetest and particularly so is it to young people. What young people are affirmatively refused is generally what they most eagerly want. The whole purpose of education should be to stimulate intellectual curiosity and the garish light of publicity has done this for the theory of evolution in a way that should make the most inspired apostle of truth green with envy.

July 24 -

. . . Nothing remains now except for the appellate courts to determine whether the state or Federal constitution was violated in enacting the law.

. . . But whatever the outcome of the whole thing will be, time will show its utter futility, for the cause of religion can never be harmed, nor can the human mind ever be legislated out of its curiosity and constant inquiry after new truths.

Pride

I seem to spend a lot of time reading about myself in papers and magazines these days. The awful thing is, I can't say that I mind it much either.

*Springfield, 1952*

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#### TOLD BY THE GOVERNOR

I couldn't help but think of the familiar tale of the three boy scouts who were called upon to report their respective good deeds of the day. The first said to the scoutmaster: "This afternoon I saw an old lady at the corner of Fourth and Main Street and I helped her across the street." The second boy stepped up hard upon the heels of the scoutmaster's word of approbation and made his report. It was: "My good deed for the day was to help an old lady across the street at Fourth and Main." When the third boy came up with the same story, the scoutmaster could not forbear voicing his surprise at the strikingly uniform nature of the services rendered. Whereupon one of the lads, conscious of a scout's pledge to serve always the cause of truth, spoke up in this wise: "Well, of course it was the same old lady. She didn't want to cross the street and it took three of us to do the job."

# august

## Captive Candidate!

I have, of course, read about [the Liberal Party] in the published writings of certain columnists and I am aware that you are dangerous characters. I am fully informed that attacks on you from the right are equalled in violence only by the denunciations which you receive in the Communist press. Well, I know how that is; in my brief political career I've sometimes wondered if I had any friends left. Then they nominated me for President, and now I sometimes wonder if I don't have too many friends! . . .

I hope that alert members of the press will note that I arrived here under my own power. . . . I am standing on my own feet and, to the best of my knowledge, I have been neither drugged nor hypnotized. I offer these testimonials in advance since . . . I am alleged to be in a state of multiple captivity and you either are or soon will be on my list of distinguished jailers.

I have been much interested in the continued debate raging in the newspapers as to whether I am headed left, center or right. I think it would be more relevant to ask: Is the man moving forward or backward, or is he grounded?

We are more tolerant of our quarterbacks than of our presidential candidates. . . . I trust that it will be said of me at least, that I know the difference between the goal line and the sideline.

There is no mystery about my program, whatever label anyone

may attach to it. I am running on the Democratic platform. I am for it. . . .

I don't envy the General having to listen to all the conflicting advice about how to treat the slanderers of his dear friend and senior officer, General Marshall. . . . I hope . . . the matter is not finally resolved by the counsel of those who favor what has been described as the middle-of-the-gutter approach.

There is low comedy in this minor Republican spectacle, but there is symbolic tragedy too. For everything the General has accomplished in his great service to his country is imperiled by many men who propose to ride to Washington on his train. They are the men who hunt Communists in the Bureau of Wild Life and Fisheries while hesitating to aid the gallant men and women who are resisting the real thing in the front lines of Europe and Asia. They are the men who would rather hold post mortems over the loss of China than do something now to save India.

. . . They would rather battle Democrats than Communists any day. And, like the Communists, their favorite sport is prophesying our imminent doom.

. . . I yield to no man, if I may borrow that majestic parliamentary phrase, in my belief in the principle of free debate, inside or outside the halls of Congress. The sound of tireless voices is the price we pay for the right to hear the music of our own opinions. But there is also a moment at which democracy must prove its capacity to act. Every man has a right to be heard; but no man has the right to strangle democracy with a single set of vocal chords. . . .

To meet the crisis of our day, we must have affirmative values and clear-cut objectives. The challenge to all of us is to prove that a free society can remain free, humane, and creative, even when it is under heavy and ruthless fire; that it can combat poverty, injustice, and intolerance in its own midst, even while resisting a monstrous foreign despotism; and that it can give men a glimpse of serenity and hope, even while calling on them for sacrifice.

We shall be accused of idealism or some such crime for projecting so optimistic a vision. To which the only truthful answer is that we are guilty. This is not to say that we guarantee a happy ending; it is only to

say that we retain our confidence in man's ability to achieve the triumph of decency and compassion in our lifetime.

After all, there was a man named Hitler, and it looked for a while as if he were invincible. Yet, we despised and decadent peoples are still talking—and he hasn't made a speech in seven years. The "thousand-year Reich" already belongs to the history books; while the idea of freedom has endured, even in the dreariest dungeons behind the Iron Curtain.

*New York, 1952*

#### Fare Thee Well

And now I must go away in quest of an even greater office, and leave behind not only you, my friends, but also my work here in Springfield. It is not easy to say farewell to you or to that work which has been my total life. For all the sweat and tears I have been richly rewarded.

. . . While I want you to sweep me down there, to Washington, don't sweep any more government jurisdiction down there! Sometimes one must overcome a feeling of reluctance about changing jobs. But the reluctance I feel about bigger and bigger jobs for the Federal government is a reluctance I won't get over!

. . . I am about to leave you on a long journey, and the route, by the way, won't be a military or political secret. I intend to cover as much ground as time and strength and our resources permit. . . .

My journey won't be a crusade; we'll just call it Operation Victory.

. . . It is easy enough to have bright ideas about the art of civil government in the abstract; but you never really can understand government until you are confronted with the concrete pressures and the day to day operating responsibilities.

. . . My greatest ambition is to discharge my future responsibility in a manner that will preserve the confidence and respect of my friends in Illinois who have given me the courage to face a future limitless with danger and opportunity.

This whole problem of the need for a change is very interesting to me in a family way. From 1860 to 1912—a period of 52 long years—

this nation had only one Democrat as President. I can say this with feeling, because, as some of you may remember, Grover Cleveland's Vice President during his second term was my grandfather. I've read a good deal about that period and I don't recall the Republicans during those 52 long years saying very much about the sacred principle of change. Evidently "change" is a sound principle only when the Republicans are out and the Democrats in.

*Illinois State Fair, August 14, 1952*

### Civil Rights

The phrase civil rights means a number of concrete things. It means the right to be treated equally before the law. It means the right to equal opportunity for education, employment and decent living conditions. It means that none of these rights shall be denied because of race or color or creed. The history of freedom in our country has been the history of knocking down the barriers to equal rights. One after another they have fallen, and great names in our history record their collapse: the Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom, the Bill of Rights, the Emancipation Proclamation, the Woman's Suffrage Amendment, down to the 1947 Report of the President's Commission on Civil Rights.

*New York, 1952*

### Two War Fronts

Two World Wars have dragged our two generations, yours and mine, through the bloodiest years of the Christian era. Many of you are now fighting in Korea and many more are standing guard in Europe to prevent a third World War. When Captain James Jabara of Wichita, an Air Force ace on leave from Korea, was asked why we are fighting there, his answer was: "So we won't have to fight in Wichita." I think the Captain hit the nail on the head. It is almost as simple and certainly as important as that.

. . . And you who serve in Korea know better than the rest of us, . . . that the enemy is implacable, sullen, determined and dangerous.

. . . On your continued strength and success rests the aspirations of all people for a peaceful world.

. . . You have heard it said, . . . that the Korean War is a "useless" war. . . . Had we not resisted aggression in Korea, then we would not only have lost Korea but we would have invited the Soviet Union to pursue aggression elsewhere. The line had to be drawn somewhere and, the earlier it was drawn, the better the chance and the greater the hope of averting general war. . . .

You have probably heard too that America has gained nothing in the last year of the Korean War.

. . . We have gained a year's time. And we have used that year to accomplish . . . significant and quite possibly decisive victories.

We have enormously expanded our defense production.

. . . I will not say that we have yet won the battle for production, but we are well on our way to winning it. The victory is already affecting the Kremlin's calculations and strategy. Stalin respects and fears strength of the free world, which is largely the productive power of America.

*Springfield, Ill., 1952*

#### Childhood Chores

My father and mother were strict disciplinarians. Although we were in comfortable circumstances, but not wealthy as sometimes rumored, my sister Buffie and I as youngsters, had certain responsibilities referred to as "chores." In this way we were taught the value of a dollar. In winter we shovelled walks (and snow in Bloomington can pile high) and we stoked the furnace—Buffie and I taking turns—a shovelful in from her and then a shovelful in from me.

Summers we mowed the lawn. Spring and Fall we raked. We liked dandelion digging least of all. Perhaps remuneration figured in that: slow work and paid only five cents a bucket.

Our mother was a good housekeeper and woe on us if we did not use the side door and on rainy days place our rubbers in the hall tree seat. The front door was for guests and special occasions like the front parlor was for Sundays. Our living room was the library.

*Springfield, Ill.*



## Government in Business

. . . Agriculture, industry and labor are interdependent and march along together or they wobble separately. But now we must recognize that there is a fourth leg to the stool on which our national economy rests—government.

In one sense we cannot avoid government partnership in business, for under our free enterprise system the government is by reason of its taxing power a preferred holder of especially preferred stock in every remunerative enterprise in this country. It declares its own dividend rate without assuming responsibility for management and for the most part without financial risk, except as its own “take” affects the soundness of the enterprise as a future source of tax revenue. In the interests of its own future dividend potential, government should encourage the wisest possible long-time use of all of our resources, human as well as material. That usually means free play of individual initiative, except where it runs counter to public interest. When that happens government has an obligation to step forward and point the way toward a fair and equitable solution.

*Farmer City, Ill., 1948*

## Time

The lowest of jewelry thieves is the robber of that precious jewel of another—time.

(AES is a stickler for punctuality; wears two watches—one on his wrist and the other in a pocket.)

*Springfield, Ill.*

## TOLD BY THE GOVERNOR

I always think of the story about the minister who opened a church conference with a prayer which went something like this: “Oh, Lord, be with the first speaker and give him power to inspire this group. And be with the second speaker and imbue him with Thy spirit. And Lord, have mercy on the last speaker!”

# september

## “Time for a Change”

There is deep personal satisfaction for me in the fact that this—my first talk on my first extended campaign trip—is sponsored by the independents who are organizing across the nation in my support.

. . . The distinguishing characteristic of the true independent is that he finds deeds more meaningful than words. . . .

This election year can set the stage for great ideas and great events. This is a year which opens out on challenges, opportunities and decisions as big as history itself. These are awesome things for any citizen to ponder. They are more awesome for a Presidential candidate. They are lodged deep in my mind. They are not changed or obscured by the applause or the criticism. . . .

So I propose to go on telling everyone just what I think about our public questions one by one, with little hope of pleasing everyone, but with confident certainty that honesty is the best policy and that for this office, in this anxious year, you don't want a political free-for-all and you do want to know about me and my views. . . .

Now, having stated the ground rules as far as I'm concerned, I want to talk a little about one of my biggest hazards in the campaign. As divided, as silent as both wings of the Republican party are on major objectives, on policies to guide the nation, they have wholeheartedly united on one profound position: “It's time for a change.”

You will hear this phrase many times—usually at the end of a long

string of invective in which each of the following words will appear at least once: crime, corruption and cronies; bossism, blundering and bungling; stupidity and socialism (either the creeping or galloping variety, depending on the degree of inflammation of the speaker). . . . But don't pause for an answer to the question which must come to your mind: "Change to what?", because you may have to pause indefinitely.

I've read the Republican platform, which is pretty good as a "whodunit," but it does not tell us what kind of a domestic or foreign policy we are going to change to. I've listened to the convention and post-convention oratory and I don't know yet what legislation of the past 20 years is to be changed or changed to what. . . .

No, the guide posts and the road maps to the new Utopia which change will build are not yet visible. . . .

It's all a little perplexing. The Democrats are denounced for not wanting changes and then for a subversive desire to change everything. I'm beginning to wonder if the Republican campaign rests on the claim that Democrats are social revolutionaries who want to keep things exactly as they are.

But, more seriously, "change" is a good subject. About the most important word in the world today is "change." . . .

I believe that there are a lot of changes still to be made. I am for continuing the process of gradual social and economic betterment which began at the depths of despair in 1932. The changes wrought in these 20 years have steadily raised the standards of life of our people, given new hope to the underprivileged, and proven to the slave world the capacity of free men to provide security for themselves within the framework of freedom.

I am glad that the General has apparently embraced these changes. But I do not detect any roars of approval from the Old Guard—the men who never want anything done for the first time. . . .

Some commentators tell us that there are really two Republican parties—which has been obvious for a long time—the comparatively modern men and the intransigent Old Guard who are still fighting valiantly to keep us out of the second World War. They tell us that if the Republicans lose this year, as usual, the Old Guard will come rag-

ing in and drive the so-called "me-tooers" into shameful exile. And, therefore, the thing for independents and Democrats to do is to let the Republicans win, thereby assuring the triumph of moderation and enabling us all to live happily ever after.

I believe this is the first time it has been contended that now is the time for all good Democrats to come to the aid of the Republican party.

At the risk of seeming to lack compassion and humanity, I don't believe we can save the Republican party from itself. I do not believe that liberal Republicans trapped behind the GOP line can be liberated by surrendering the country and the Congress to the Old Guard. It's too high a price to save the enlightened Republicans from their more primitive brethren. They'll just have to take care of themselves while we take care of the country.

But, of course, there is an easier, safer path of escape for them. There is always a light in our Democratic window for the politically homeless.

. . . I shall not argue that it is necessarily fatal to change horses in mid-stream. But I doubt if it is wise to jump on a struggling two headed elephant trying to swim in both directions at the same time in very rough water.

Slogans are normally designed to get action without reflection. This one, "time for a change," fits these specifications admirably. This may not be too serious when all that is at stake is whether to buy one cake of soap or another. But I don't think it furnishes a sound basis for deciding a national election. . . .

Finally, let me suggest to our Republican friends that it is time for a change in that old, tired, meaningless tune about time for a change. It has been used every four years, and it hasn't started any dancing in the streets yet.

*Denver, Colo., 1952*

#### Geographic Heart-beat

We have had a good deal of experience in California with the development of interior projects, like the Central Valley project, and I believe that Tracy is supposed to be the heart-beat of the Central

Valley project because here you pump the water, like the water from Sacramento down to the Central Valley. I know that these projects, which we Democrats call investments of the public funds in the public interests, have been frequently characterized by our opponents as socialism, as wild bureaucratic extravagance, and I am frank to say that if these are bureaucratic extravagances, this is a form of socialism, and then I must be a very dangerous character indeed because I am in favor of it.

*Tracy, Cal., 1952*

#### Personal

In the summer of 1933, I served in Washington in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. I came to this state and spent many weeks conducting hearings mostly at the University in Berkeley for various of your special crops. Among others was a marketing agreement that I wrote for your walnut industry. And here is my sad story: It came Christmas of that year and I received an enormous gunnysack. It stood about six feet high and was full of little Christmas packages of walnuts. It solved our Christmas shopping problem, because we took out the packages and sent them to everybody around Washington. And then I discovered, to my intense chagrin, that in each package was a little card saying "Merry Christmas from the walnut industry to Adlai Stevenson." I think that is the last public gift I'll ever receive in public life.

*Modesto, Cal., 1952*

#### Positive Approach

. . . If the Republicans stop telling lies about us, we will stop telling the truth about them.

*Bakersfield, Cal., 1952*

#### Heritage

We have a great natural heritage in our land, our forests and our rivers. You get an exciting sense of the richness and the variety of this heritage when you travel . . . and you get an urgent sense of the vital importance of developing this heritage in the interests of all of

the people of the country, and not permitting it to become a private reserve for the special groups to make profits for themselves at the expense of the people.

*Phoenix, Ariz., 1952*

#### Our Tomorrows

. . . The American people, restless, inquisitive, creative, are always on the search for new frontiers. As long as that search continues, so long will we as a nation continue to grow.

The foundation of any economy is its natural resources. The new technological era toward which we are moving will make ever-growing drains upon these resources. If we are to maintain our growth, we must prepare for the future prosperity of our nation. And we must make those preparations today, while there is still time—not 20 years from now, when it may be too late.

*Los Angeles, Cal., 1952*

#### Democratic Philosophy

We Democrats feel that we can summarize our philosophy in words that are familiar to all of you—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This is what we have felt was our philosophy—our obligation to every man and woman; why we have tried to create more jobs, equal opportunities; why we have tried to give the farmers of the United States a break; why we have tried to create more opportunities and better earnings for the business community. All of these things are no more than you would expect from government.

. . . All we [Democrats] can do is to promise you the same conscientious effort to continue this general philosophical approach to the human welfare of people of all of our groups in the future that you have observed in the past. We want our government clean, we want it honest, we want it efficient, we want it responsive to the needs of our people. Basically our greatest responsibility in this generation is peace on earth, as you all know. We feel that we have had a positive program. There have been mistakes, to be sure. There will probably be more mistakes. I suppose mistakes are inevitable in the ordering of any human society. But, we can give you our heart, we can give you

our heads, we can give you our best. No more than that can you ask of any man.

*San Jose, Calif., 1952*

#### Prediction

[Upon noting the platform from which the Republican candidate addressed a Richmond audience collapsed at the end of his speech]: I'm glad the general wasn't hurt. But I wasn't surprised that it happened—I've been telling him for two months that nobody could stand on that platform.

*Paducah, Ky., 1952*

#### Resources

When we invest in projects that more than pay for themselves, we act as prudent trustees of the public wealth and our heirs will profit from our wisdom. . . .

We are only at the beginning of a long-term effort to make our resources match our needs. . . .

Soil and water, fish and wildlife, forests and grasslands, minerals and waterpower—they are all related to one another in nature's order and we cannot separate the problems of one from those of all the others. . . .

The natural wealth of the United States is our common trust. . . .

We must be faithful and wise stewards of the riches we have inherited. We must imagine greatly, dare greatly, and act greatly. For on what we do now the future will depend—the future not only of our people but of the world.

*Seattle, Wash., 1952*

#### Foreign Policy

. . . As far as Formosa is concerned, I think it is pretty much agreed policy now that it is part of our defense perimeter in the Pacific, and that probably it should continue in that position, if not under American jurisdiction, at least under United Nations jurisdiction, for a long time to come.

We inevitably are going to have to find some substitute for the

sending of dollars abroad. That substitute will have to create markets here or elsewhere. You can hardly expect foreign countries who have lost their East-West trade because of the Iron Curtain, which we insist on keeping shut, not to assert the right to have adequate markets elsewhere.

*Portland, Ore., 1952*

#### Labor

. . . This American Federation of Labor Convention . . . has been transacting your business here for eight days. This makes it high time for a little humor. But I fear that some people may be listening who don't like the light touch, although they don't seem to mind the heavy one. . . .

But there is business before your house and I propose to get right to it, obeying, so far as I can, what is coming to be known as the new Republican law of gravity.

I have been told that I should try to make you roar with enthusiasm. I would not do that even if I could. . . . If I were more comforted by your cheers than your thought I would hardly merit the confidence of responsible men. I would rather make you think than make you roar. . . .

First I want to dispose of this matter of the Taft-Hartley Act.

The Democratic platform says that the Taft-Hartley Act is "inadequate, unworkable, and unfair," and should be replaced by a new law. . . .

How to get a new one? The method, whether by amendment of the existing law or replacement with a new one, has, frankly, seemed to me less important than the objective. But because . . . the present law is spiteful, and because it has become a symbol of dissension and bitterness, I urge . . . that the Taft-Hartley Act be repealed.

The Republican platform commends the Taft-Hartley Act because, among other things, it guarantees to the working man "the right to quit his job at any time."

To this deceit they add the insistence that the real issue here is whether the present law should be "amended" or "repealed." That is not the real issue. The real issue is what changes should be made in



the law. . . . I would remind Senator Taft that he himself has publicly recognized 23 mistakes in his favorite law. It seems not unreasonable to recommend that a tire with 23 punctures and 5 blowouts needs junking and not a recap job with reclaimed Republican rubber. . . .

The final Republican maneuvers were executed on this platform last Wednesday. I am grateful that it was a Republican, Senator Morse, who revealed so masterfully how all of those explosions we heard were only blank cartridges.

It is proposed now apparently to change the Taft-Hartley Act in just two respects: by removing what the speaker [General Eisenhower] called the union-busting clauses, and by making employers, like union leaders, swear they are not Communists. The tinkling sound of these little words was unfortunately smothered by the thundering silence of all that was left unsaid.

On only one point was there anything even approaching a joining of the issues.

It was charged that I had "embraced" the principle of "compulsion," by asking for the power as President to "compel" arbitration of disputes which threaten the national safety. Now, after the great reunion on the loveseat at Columbia University, I respect the General's authority on the subject of embraces. But if he wrote what he said, he had not read what I said.

My proposal was, and is, that if Congress sees fit to direct the President to intervene in a labor dispute it should give him the authority to try, among other things, to have that dispute referred to arbitration. I did not say that he should be given the power to "compel" arbitration. I recommended a flexibility of procedures, all built around the mediation process. . . .

My distinguished opponent . . . says he is against compulsion. Yet he seems to support the present law, which compels men to work under court injunction for 80 days on terms they have rejected. There can be no greater compulsion than this. . . .

But the Republican candidate . . . did recognize squarely that issuing injunctions "will not settle the underlying fundamental problems which cause a strike." That is one statement we can all agree with.

The trouble is that the Taft-Hartley Act was written by those who don't.

But enough of the labor relations law. There are other problems of equal concern to American labor.

When many of you first came into this business, the only job of American labor—and it was a tough one—was to organize workers and to bargain with employers. This is still perhaps your main job. But . . . American labor is today much more than an instrument for collective bargaining. It has become a vital agency of a working democracy.

Your purposes extend to making America strong in a free and peaceful world, and to seeking all the democratic goals to which the government of this country is dedicated. . . .

What you have to offer, in all of our essential governmental programs, has been perhaps best proven by the contributions you have already made on the international front.

Your effective fight against Communism goes clear back to the time it was called Bolshevism. You have licked it to a frazzle in your own houses, and you have gone after the roots from which it grows. . . .

I . . . applaud the job you have done, not only through the International Labor Organization, the Economic Cooperation Administration, the Department of State, but through your own offices—rejecting the Communist front World Federation of Trade Unions, pressing the case in the United Nations against forced labor in the Soviet Union, supporting free trade unions in Europe and Asia and South America, helping build up popular resistance wherever the spiked wall of Russia throws its shadow over free men and women. Where men's minds have been poisoned against democracy, many will learn again that America is free only as they hear from you that you are free. To the workers of other nations, yours is today the clearest voice America has.

. . . We need diplomats who speak to people in the accents of the people. Ambassadors in overalls can be the best salesmen of democracy. . . .

The Democratic Party has been entrusted for twenty years with

the awesome responsibility of leadership in governing the United States. During these years, the labor unions have become strong and vigorous. American labor, too, has enormous power today—and enormous responsibilities.

To responsible men, power is no source of satisfaction. It is rather cause for very real humility. It is the whole history of mankind that power lacking the inner strength of self-restraint will be eventually cast down. . . .

It has been the basic belief of the Democratic Party that only human freedoms are basic, and that economic power must be exercised so as not to curtail them. We hold, too, that the power of government must be restricted to the point that government stands never as master, always as servant. . . .

American labor, like the Democratic Party, faces new and uncharted tomorrows. You, as we, will be challenged anew to measure up to the demands of both freedom and power. The future of democracy, perhaps the future of the world, depends upon the exercise of power, by America's private and public bodies alike, with that self-restraint which separates power from tyranny, and order from chaos.

The fullest guarantee against irresponsibility lies in the constant reminder that people, and only people, are important.

American labor's whole purpose has been to restore to people the status and dignity they lost when the sprawling factories reached out and engulfed them. Hence, for example, your insistence that there be a community law of job rights—seniority rules—to stand beside the law of property rights.

Equally has the Democratic Party drawn its strength from the people. We have built our program on their hopes, stood by them in adversity, and found the measure of our accomplishment in their welfare. We have written the laws of 20 years from pictures in our minds of men and women who are tired after a full day, who are defeated if a week's wages won't buy a week's food, who are out of a job, or are sick or have finished a life's work. We believe in a government with a heart.

Yet we are told—you of American labor, and we of the Democratic Party—that we have gone too far.

What do they mean? Are they saying that our people are too well fed, too well clothed, too well housed? Do they say that our children are getting more and better schooling than they should? Have we gone too fast in our effort to provide equal opportunities to working men and women of all races and creeds? Are the 62 million workers in America too healthy, too happy? Should fewer of them be working?

The Republicans say they want a change. Let them, then, speak out: Which of these things do they want changed?

*American Federation of Labor Convention, New York, 1952*

#### Republicans

There are two respects in which the Republican leaders have a wonderfully consistent record. They never speak well of Democrats—in fact they don't even speak well of one another any more. And they have always been afraid of tomorrow. Seldom has there been a bold idea for building America bigger and stronger for the future but that Republican voices are raised saying you can't do that. The Republican leadership sometimes talks big, but it acts small. Time after time, it has underestimated the needs and wants and demands of this country and its people. We have met great power needs, great irrigation needs, great resource needs in the last 20 years; but each move to meet them has been systematically opposed or attacked or undercut by the members of the Party of the past—the boys whose elephant cannot figure out whether to follow its trunk or its tail.

Of course, I suppose that all this government activity is what they call socialism—creeping and crawling. I'm no more in favor of socialism than anybody else, and I particularly dislike things which creep. But, if I don't like "creeping socialism," there's something else I dislike just as much—and that's galloping reaction.

*Los Angeles, 1952*

#### Freedom

Freedom is power.

Freedom breeds freedom.

*Springfield, Ill.*

## Farm Policy

We of this generation, who saw farm conditions at their worst in 1932, have had the happy privilege of seeing them over the last decade at their best. I am proud of the work my party has done in these twenty years to restore the American farmer to a position of equality and dignity in our national life. . . .

A society can be no better than the men and women who compose it. The heart of any farm policy must therefore be the life of those who work the farm. . . . We believe, as Democrats have always believed, that our society rests on an agricultural base. It is our determination to keep that base solid and healthy. . . .

This means that farm policy must focus first on the question of farm income. This is not because farmers are more concerned with money than any other group in society. It is because farmers, like all other citizens, are entitled to a fair return for their labor and a fair chance in the world for their children. . . .

The way we have chosen to maintain farm income is to support farm prices. . . .

There should be no mystery about price supports. What our program does is to place a floor under our agricultural economy in order to protect the farmer against sudden and violent price drops. What it does is to maintain farm income—and the farmer's purchasing power—in those uneasy moments when there is a temporary glut in the market, or when real depression threatens. By stabilizing farm income, our program maintains markets for the businessman and the worker. The total effect, obviously, is to help stabilize the whole national economy at a high level of production and employment.

I know that opponents of the program claim that price supports raise food prices for housewives. . . . Food prices are high enough today, heaven knows. But supports are not the reason. High employment and strong purchasing power—in short, prosperity—are keeping most farm prices above support levels. . . . [Also] we are feeding 30 million more people than there were in our land in 1932; and we are giving the average American a far better diet.

. . . I am not presuming for a moment to say that support at 90 per cent of parity is necessarily the permanent or only answer.

Economic conditions are constantly changing and I think this program, like all our economic policies, should be constantly reappraised to determine if it is fair to the taxpayer and responsive to our needs. . . .

Price policy is the heart of the farm program but it is not the whole of it. Farming is a way of using our great inheritance of water and land; and it is a way of life. Our effort must be to improve the fertility and productivity of our farms, and to improve the quality and content of life for our farm families. . . .

Farm ownership and the family farm are the foundation on which our whole agricultural system is built. From 1880 to 1932 . . . the proportion of farm owners declined. By 1932, 43 per cent of all farmers—two out of every five—were either tenants or sharecroppers. That trend has now been reversed; three-fourths of our farmers now own their farms. We have recovered, in twenty years, the ground lost in the previous fifty.

Things are not yet as they should be. . . . There is a notion abroad that all farmers are now prosperous. In 1950, more than one million farmers had net incomes from all sources including outside employment of less than \$1,000. How can a farmer rear, clothe, and educate a family on that? Who can say that such a family shares in the American abundance? We can take pride in our remarkable progress, but we cannot be complacent.

Research, housing, and credit programs particularly must be focused on this problem of rural poverty. No one should promise miracles here; but there must be ways to help the industrious small farmer who wants to help himself. . . .

This nation faces a stern present and a challenging future. . . . Our struggle to strengthen the free world against communism demands the continued and growing productivity of the American farm. A hungry man is not a free man. In the long run, peace will be won in the turnrows, not on the battlefields.

*Kasson, Minn., 1952*

Democracy

Democracy is a process of growth.

*Bloomington, Ill.*

\*

I think it is just as important to recognize and support the good as to find and punish the bad.

*Springfield, Ill.*

Taft-Hartley

I stand before you as a fugitive from a sweat-shop down in Springfield, Illinois. . . .

This is Labor Day of an election year, and I think candidates ought to get a day off too. But if they got *off* they might not get *in*. . . .

The relationship between the Democratic party and the working people of America is a very simple one. We both believe in equal rights for all and special privileges for none. We both believe that the objective of our country and its government is to achieve human decency, to meet human needs and fulfill human hopes.

. . . Human decency is the theme of our history and the spirit of our religion. We must never cease trying to write its guarantees, not just into our laws, but into the hearts and minds of men. . . .

The only legitimate purpose of a Federal labor relations law is to make private collective bargaining work better. That purpose has not been served by the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947.

We needed in 1947, some revisions in the old Wagner Act, some new rules for labor peace. We got a new law all right—a tangled snarl of legal barbed wire, filled with ugly sneers at labor unions and built around the discredited labor injunction.

I don't say that everything in the Taft-Hartley Act is wrong. I don't think it is a "slave labor" law. But I do say that it was biased and politically inspired, and has not improved labor relations in a single plant. We must have a new law, and my conclusion is that we can

remedy the defects of the present law by scrapping it and starting over. What should be retained can be written into the new law best after the political symbolism of the Taft-Hartley Act is behind us.

I suggest five general principles as the basis for a new labor relations law. . . . They represent the public interest in a fair, solid, durable pattern of free collective bargaining. And I think labor and management can agree on them too, if they will throw their guns on the table.

Point number one is that the law must accept labor unions, like employer corporations, as the responsible representatives of their members' interests. . . .

Point number two is the other side of point number one. If labor unions are to be accepted as the full representatives and guardians of employee interests in the collective bargaining process, then labor unions must conform to standards of fair conduct and equal protection in the exercise of their stewardship. . . .

Number three of my suggestions is that a new Federal Labor law must outlaw uniform bargaining practices by companies or unions.

The Taft-Hartley Act, like the Wagner Act before it, prohibits certain types of unfair labor practices by employers, such as discriminating against union members or forming company unions. But Taft-Hartley added a list of union unfair practices. . . .

I think it is only common sense to acknowledge that we must forbid such practices as jurisdictional strikes, and strikes or boycotts attempting to force an employer to deal with one union when another has been certified as the representative of his employees.

It is equally clear, however, that the prohibitions in the Taft-Hartley Act are so broad and so jumbled as to outlaw proper along with improper conduct—even, on occasion, to require union members to act as strikebreakers. . . .

Point number four is rejection of the labor injunction.

. . . That tyrannical power to have men and women ordered back to work in smothered silence has no place in today's labor law.

My fifth and last point is that new methods must be found for settling national emergency disputes.

We are willing, as a nation, to put up with serious inconveniences



when bargaining stalemates result in shutting down production. . . .

We cannot, however, tolerate shutdowns which threaten our national safety, even that of the whole free world. The right to bargain collectively does not include a right to stop the national economy.

The Taft-Hartley answer for this problem is the injunction. All that law boils down to is that in national emergency disputes employees shall be ordered to work for another 80 days on the employers' terms.

The remedy has been administered now nine times. Fair-minded critics have concluded that in only two of these cases did it do the slightest good. . . .

I have no miracle-drug solution for this problem. I am clear, though, that where the government must intervene in these private disputes, its purpose must be not just to stop the strike, but to see that the dispute gets settled.

I am clear, too, that the new law must recognize that these emergency cases are always different. It is a proven mistake for Congress to prescribe in advance the same old patent medicine for all of them.

. . . Let none of us forget that labor problems are human problems. The ultimate answers do not lie in the legislator's ink-pot or the lawyer's brief.

The common denominator is confidence—confidence not in law or government, but in one another, in free men and women; confidence in the private organizations they have set up, the private processes they have worked out to meet their common problems.

*Detroit, 1952*

Depths

Defeat begins in the heart.

*Springfield, Ill.*

White Collars

. . . We have paid too little attention to the problems of the white collar worker—Mr. In-Between—who is often caught in the wheels when our economy moves up.

*Pontiac, Mich., 1952*

## Diet and Health

I owe my blessing of good health in part to my fondness for natural foods—fruits, vegetables and milk products.

## Personal

Walking is a good way to keep fit.

## Statesmanship

. . . consists sometimes not so much in knowing what to do ultimately as in what to do now.

*Los Angeles, Cal., 1952*

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## TOLD BY THE GOVERNOR

I remember hearing a story from a school teacher in Chicago one time about a little Jewish boy who came up to her one day and said he would like to be excused from school because it was Yom Kippur and his grandmother wanted him to be at home on that religious holiday. And the teacher excused him. On hearing that, a little Irish boy came up and asked to be excused likewise. The teacher said, "But, Patrick McCarthy, I know you are not Jewish." He said, "No, but I think grandmother is a little Jewish and I am sure she wants me to be at home with her." Then, by golly, if a little colored boy didn't come up and asked if he couldn't be excused, too. She said to him, "Well, now, Joseph, this is going too far. I know that you're not Jewish." And he said, "No, ma'am, I'm not, but I sure am in favor of this cause."

# october

## United Nations

Here on the Illinois prairies we seem to be in the midst of a season of festivals. Only last week I took part in a corn festival at Streator. A few days before it was a grape festival at Nauvoo. And I've missed other local celebrations in honor of tomatoes, of sauerkraut, of pumpkins, and, in one most remarkable instance, of corn bread and beans.

I am greatly heartened by the fact that you people of Chanute Field have added to this honorable list—the United Nations!

*United Nations Festival, Rantoul, Ill., 1950*

## Crime

. . . During the war years the pressure to build more prisons and reformatories was temporarily relaxed [in Illinois] by the declining volume of crime generally. Moreover, we discovered that many of the men whom we had confined in penitentiaries, but shortly released to the armed forces, conducted themselves admirably—an interesting comment on the wisdom of our all too complete reliance on incarceration as the principal method for treating the criminal offender.

*American Prison Association, St. Louis, 1950*

## Newspaper Experience: Mostly Misdeeds

On the Pantagraph in Bloomington I used to cover county fairs with Billy Glimpse. I ran errands for him to pick up prize winners' lists, measure pumpkins for circumference, etc.

Once I was hopelessly diverted by a junior watermelon eating contest. I think at Farmer City. I was easily runnerup, if not the winner, when Billy removed me by the ear.

Rumor reaches me that Charlie Cutting reports I used to try to get Joe Bunting to skip work on Saturdays to attend football games at the University of Illinois. I never heard of such a thing! It was Joe who was always trying to get me to skip.

In recalling those youthful newspaper days I embrace warm memories of Russell Miller, mechanical superintendent, at the Pantagraph. I used to drive to work in my mother's Baker Electric and park it in front. I was through shortly after nine at night and had only to wait around until midnight when the paper went to bed. So I would inveigle Mr. Miller to manage the makeup and loan me his car to spin out to the Country Club. My mother's car in front was eloquent authority I was at work within.

I tried to make this up to Mr. Miller and he said I did when his first heir came into the world. That was too important to me for "Vital Statistics." I created a new separate heading for my friend's little Miller. [His name is Bill.]

Least of all at the paper I liked working in accounting. My co-worker, Emmet Gunn, made legible, accurate figures. Mine were neither. If I had stayed there much longer we would have had to call in Arthur Anderson and Co., or the Bureau of Internal Revenue would have called us in.

Most of all I liked the composing room, but I still don't understand how a linotype machine works. For that matter, I don't understand how a lot of things work—including politics!

*Pantagraph's Family Circle*

#### Campaign for Governor

I know that most of you people, however loyal you are to your party labels, really want the same thing—you want honest, decent, thrifty administration of our public affairs in Illinois. . . .

To be governor, and a good governor, of this immense, powerful, rich state is a humbling responsibility, and if we are elected, I hope and pray that with the sincere good will of the sincere good people, my

associates and I can accomplish the things we have in mind for the state which has honored us. . . .

I doubt if a Governor and the other state officers . . . can give you honest, decent, thrifty government—unless they want to do it *more* than they want to enrich themselves; unless they want to do it *more* than they want to further their personal political ambition by building up a huge machine to control their party's destiny. Too often when the interests of the machine and the people conflict, the machine wins and the people lose. I don't believe a man can be a good governor and a party boss at the same time. I want to be a good Governor of Illinois where my family have lived for five generations, and that's all I want.

*Bloomington, Ill., 1948*

#### Faith

Faith constantly carries on where judgment leaves off. A homely case in point is my dog, Artie. One day my secretary, Mrs. Munn, heard car wheels screech and she saw Artie dashing across the lawn; he dropped in a pool of blood at the door. The veterinarian, Mr. L. J. Garvert, said one limb was so badly mutilated it would have to be amputated. When Mrs. Munn telephoned me out of town I asked the boys' opinion. They agreed Artie liked to roam too much to let him live on handicapped with an amputation. We would have to put him to sleep. Mrs. Munn did not give up. She got in touch with her brother-in-law, a surgeon. He and the vet conferred and today Artie is as good as new as his friends all know.

*Springfield, Ill.*

#### The Farmer Defined

The answer must come from the whole citizen—the whole man. Nobody is just a farmer, or just a farm woman, or just a businessman depending on farmers for his own prosperity, or just a worker in a meat-packing plant. The fragmentary man is a myth. I address these questions about which party you can trust to the whole man—perhaps a farmer, yes, but also a father, a husband, an educator of his children; a man with some religious faith, devoted to his country, who prays

for peace in this tormented world, and thinks hard and long about matters which go beyond his farm.

*Fort Dodge, Iowa, 1952*

Taft on Eisenhower

Senator Taft is the greatest living authority on what General Eisenhower thinks.

*Fort Dodge, Iowa, 1952*

'Me too'

The Republicans have a 'me too' candidate running on a 'yes but' platform, advised by a 'has been' staff.

*Fort Dodge, Iowa, 1952*

Campaign Morality

General Eisenhower employs the three monkeys standard of campaign morality: see no evil—if it's Republican; hear no evil—unless it is Democratic; and speak no evil—unless Senator Taft says it's all right.

*St. Paul, Minn., 1952*

Republican Jokers

When I practiced law we looked for jokers in a contract. In the Republican farm platform it is not a question of finding the loopholes in the contract. It is a question of finding a contract in the loopholes.

*Fort Dodge, Iowa, 1952*

Social Legislation

[We Democrats] have approached the writing of social legislation with certain clear warm pictures in our minds; of a family sitting around a supper table; of a rent bill coming due when there has been sickness in the family; of a child going off to school dressed differently from others.

We think we understand the feeling some one has when he is denied a job he knows he would have gotten if his skin had been of a different color. We think we know the feeling of an older man and woman who don't want to move in with the children.

*Fort Dodge, Iowa, 1952*

#### Individualism

I don't like doles. I don't like subsidies. I don't like any interferences with free markets, free men and free enterprise. I like freedom to succeed or to fail. But I also know that there can be no real freedom without economic justice, social justice, equality of opportunity and a fair chance for every individual to make the most of himself. . . .

The basic political rift of our day in this country is by no means between those who favor individual liberty as against those who favor subjugation of the individual to the state. The rift concerns how far government is to go to attain the economic and social atmosphere in which the utmost individual liberty can thrive. Stated another way: how far government must impair some individual freedom to preserve more.

No one wants government to control every detail of human life and anyone who talks of a return to the good old days when government acted only as a policeman is on his way to a museum.

The real argument is between those who want government to do more at once and those who counsel caution lest we lose more of the Jeffersonian ideal of individual supremacy than we save. There are, of course, a lot of sideshows, posturing and windmill tilting to catch the crowd's fancy, but when the theatrical props are laid aside, I can't see that the responsible "too muchers" are all agents of selfish interests, or the "not enoughers" agents of Moscow. The conflict is not going to be solved by epithets and slogans like "Communist," "Socialist," "statism," "welfare state," "Fair Deal," or "New Deal."

Somewhere in between lies the area where "welfare ideas and enterprise" ideas sometimes clash but more often merge. If we continue as we have, with caution and thorough discussion; if we don't forget

who or what we are trying to save—the American individual and his freedom—I am not worried about ruinous reaction on the one hand or radical misadventure on the other, because the American individual is a very sensible fellow.

*New York Herald Tribune Forum, 1949*

#### Human Relations

Our strength stems less from our material and technical attainments as a nation than from our historic record in securing and broadening the rights of our people. From the earliest settlement of this country, America has been a symbol of hope wherever men have aspired to be free and stand erect.

We have learned from the past, and more recently in the bitter experience of two World Wars, that today human freedom is indivisible. We have come to know that the basic human rights we cherish are linked with the fate of even the most humble and remote peasant. Whenever fundamental human rights are denied, freedom everywhere is threatened, whether it be in far off Korea or in Cicero, Illinois.

. . . The demoralizing effects of overcrowding, of substandard housing, inadequate sanitation, illegal building conversions, and a host of resultant social evils are placing a severe strain upon the whole range of state and municipal welfare services.

*Springfield, Ill., 1952*

#### Social Gains

I am glad to be in Ohio and pay my respects to the uncrowned boss of the Republican Party—Senator Taft. At least you know where he stands.

I want to talk with you tonight about the most precious thing in the world. I want to talk to you about people—about you, and your children, and your father and your mother. . . .

I chose tonight to speak of these problems because this is Democratic Women's Day. It marks the occasion, thirty-three years ago, when women first took their places in the directing councils of the Democratic Party. . . .



Understanding human needs is half the job of meeting them. . . . We have learned how important it is to approach the writing of laws, themselves cold things, from clear, warm pictures in our minds: of a family sitting around a supper table; of a rent bill coming due when there has been sickness in the family; of a child going off to school dressed differently from the others. We think we understand the feeling someone has when he is denied a job he knows he would have gotten if his skin had been of a different color. We think we know the feeling of an older man and woman who don't want to move in with the children.

It is upon this understanding that we have built the laws of 20 years.

First of all, our Democratic administrations have been working for better housing. Twenty-four million families now own homes of their own—an increase of 10 million in two decades. The job has been accomplished in the American way, through private enterprise and local responsibility, with the Federal government providing the means to bring down interest rates to reasonable levels, plus the help necessary to build homes for low-income families. . . .

While we have been building homes we also have been bringing to our farm people most of the comforts of city life. We have banished the hand pump, the outdoor privy, the kerosene lamps and battered zinc wash tubs which once made life so hard for our farm women. These relics have been replaced, on nine farms out of every ten, by electric lights, running water and all the other conveniences which the magic of electricity makes possible. By these improvements we are encouraging young people to remain on the farms, where there is a shortage of labor, so that they may participate as their fathers and mothers have, in the feeding and clothing of our Nation.

Here again we have done the job in the American way, working through farmer co-operatives which are locally organized, locally owned and locally managed. . . .

I hardly need to remind you that these things have been accomplished in the teeth of implacable and relentless opposition of Republicans in Congress. Year after year, decade after decade, each social advance meets with shouts of the old refrain, "Socialism," as if the

American people could be frightened like children on Hallowe'en. I sometimes secretly suspect that the Republicans haven't caught on to the fact that we have free public education in this country and have had for quite awhile. We know more than they think, and we know it isn't socialism to give a veteran a chance to buy a home of his own. We know we are not softening the moral fiber of America when we help a farm woman put a washing machine in her kitchen.

. . . Here in Columbus you are now building a million dollar health center; I am told that it has been badly needed for many years. The Federal government is paying about one-quarter of the cost. Throughout the country 1,500 such hospitals are going up, or have already been completed—most of them in farming areas which have never before had any kind of hospital service. These are all local projects, started by hometown people who want better facilities to care for their sick and injured without going far from home. The government helps pay for the building, but the operation of each hospital remains entirely in local hands, with no strings attached. . . .

The hospital construction program is only a sound beginning toward meeting the medical needs of all our people. I am just as much opposed to socialized medicine as any doctor in this country. . . . I never want to see our physicians on a government payroll. . . . You and I know that the United States already has the best system of medical care in the world—but we also know that it is not yet good enough.

Many small towns and rural areas still suffer from a dangerous shortage of doctors and nurses. Unhappily it looks as though private support is not enough and that it will take Federal Aid to help support the medical schools necessary to turn out enough doctors and nurses.

And so far we have found no way to cope with the problem of catastrophic illness, which may spell economic disaster for a whole family. No matter how thrifty, few families can ever protect themselves completely or endure the crushing cost of the accident which disables the father for life, or the case of rheumatic fever which puts a child in the hospital for months or years. We await the recommendations of the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, which . . . will make its report in December. . . .

Now let's talk for a moment about children. Did you ever wonder

what happened to the old-fashioned Orphan's Home? Twenty years ago nearly every town had one. . . . Today these institutions have almost completely disappeared—and do you know why? Because the Democratic party, thinking in terms of human needs, wrote into the Social Security Act a provision to bring help into homes where a father is disabled or dead.

The youngsters we are raising now have never had to wander hungry and homeless, riding the freight cars and sleeping under old newspapers in the hobo jungles. They don't have to leave school for want of clothes. There are more children attending school today than ever before, and they are staying in school longer. . . .

We have not solved all of our school problems. . . . We pursue our folly of paying the lowest salaries in many communities to those who handle, not our goods, or even our garbage, but our children's education. We have far too few school rooms for the vast increase in school children that is ahead of us. Too many areas, especially in the South, lag behind in education, because they produce more than their relative share of the nation's children and get less than their share of the nation's income.

. . . For millions of Americans, old age once meant charity, or the county home, or a life as an unwelcome burden on their children. We're proud, as Democrats, that today—thanks to Social Security—these people can pass their evening years in dignity, security, and independence, not with handouts but with the proceeds of insurance earned by a life of hard work.

Today 65 million people . . . have built up substantial equities in this Social Security system. . . .

You have been told by those who pervert truth to politics . . . that there is waste in the administration of your funds. The truth is that this insurance system is being administered at a cost lower than that achieved by private companies.

Splendid as it is, our Social Security system has room for improvement. It should be extended to many workers not now covered. Benefit payments should keep up with living costs to accomplish the purpose for which they were intended. The present law should be changed to encourage people who are still alert, able-bodied, and eager, to keep

on working even after they are 65. Our country needs every hand and brain we can give it and enforced idleness is good for no one. . . .

The American people want no retreat on these issues. We want to advance, to improve, to carry forward our efforts to provide better housing, better health, better schools, better social security. . . . They are part of the fabric of our life, part of the progress we have been making toward human dignity and human freedom, part of the promise of our future. . . .

I had a letter the other day from a man who said that I evidently wanted to put the "candid" in candidate. . . . Well, I never thought of it just that way before, but . . . I've decided that I could have no better epitaph than "the man who put 'candid' in candidate." . . .

Even more important, candidly, than immediate further advances, such as I have sketched, is our national solvency. It is not just that a program is desirable; the question is also whether we can afford it without endangering something else, or, indeed, everything. The top priority now is defense and inflation control. Social gains at the price of peace or a healthy economy, on which the whole world depends, will not be gains but frightful losses.

Our directions, our party purposes, our new social horizons are clear and I am proud to bear the Democratic standard in this fateful campaign. . . .

We have made a new society here in America. We have given democracy a new dimension. We have given our men and women a new strength.

*Columbus, O., 1952*

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#### TOLD BY THE GOVERNOR

I'm like the little boy who asked his mother if we all come from dust. "Yes, that's right," she replied. "Well," says the boy, "I've just looked under the bed and there's somebody there, but I can't tell whether he's coming or going."

# november

## Russia

Dammit, Andrei [Gromyko], you fellows can't have everything!

*Acting United States Delegate to United Nations  
Preparatory Commission, London, 1945*

## Advice to Youth

It is hard for some people to grow old without becoming cynical, but I would say to young people: listen to the old and the young courteously but be careful who influences you. If you run across those who see no good in the world, who say that everything is going to the dogs and that most people are rascals, don't believe them. But don't reject wisdom from whatever source it may come. Some of your elders have lived a long time, some of them have learned much. The trick is to select the truly wise ones and listen to them.

*Chicago, 1949*

## War

The first World War was a shock, but not a lesson.

*New York Times Magazine, 1949*

## Race Prejudice

What tasks should command our efforts today in the historic struggle to foster the growth of men *as men*?

The outline of that task was graphically expressed for me recently

by a Negro minister. Before the Civil War, he said, a high wall was built around the Negro and the whites said to him: "You can't get out." But since the Civil War, the minister continued, the whites have built a high wall around themselves and said to the Negro: "You can't get in!" Will there ever be a time, the minister went on to ask, when we shall be able to live side by side without these prison walls?

*Brooklyn, Ill., 1948*

Politics and Picnics

I like fish fries, barbecues, clambakes and all of the other typical paraphernalia of old-fashioned American politics . . . That fine old Democratic philosopher and picnicker, Thomas Jefferson, saw the point when he said that man had a natural right to "the pursuit of happiness."

I wish that those Republican leaders who like the things that we have been doing would come over and help us; we welcome them to our picnics.

I have often told this story—about how I happened to be a Democrat anyway. My mother's family were staunch and long-time Republicans in the State of Illinois and they were members of the Unitarian Church. My father's family were Democrats of many generations, and they were Presbyterians. And by some curious circumstance—I hesitate to call it a deal—when I was born, I ended up as a Unitarian, my mother's church, and as a Democrat, my father's political party. I am a compromise.

*Benson High School, Portland, Oregon, 1952*

Modernism

At the close of an archeology lecture in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, one lady said to her companion, "Did you like it?" . . . "Yes, but there was nothing NEW."

Campaign for Governor

What this state needs is a strong dose of electoral DDT!

*Mount Vernon, Ill., 1948*

## Our Great Land

Now I have the privilege that should be everyone's privilege, . . . to see all of the United States. I can think of nothing that is better calculated to increase one's sense of pride, one's respect for his fellow man and at the same time one's humbleness, one's sense of humility.

I had an experience on my last journey to Wyoming that perhaps has been one that many of you have had. Up on top of the Divide, there is that creek that separates and forms the Pacific Creek, flowing down the Western water shed and the Atlantic Creek, flowing down the Eastern water shed. Sitting there on a hot summer afternoon on top of the world, I couldn't help but think of what had happened and what symbolic significance there was in this lovely spot, there on top of the Continental Divide where the winds blow from all directions.

I thought of how the center of gravity in world affairs had moved in the past three thousand years from the Valley of the Tigris in the Euphrates, the Valley of the Nile to Athens, to Rome, to Paris, to London, and in our time and in our generation had jumped the Pacific and had come to the Western Hemisphere, had come to the United States of America, and somehow, there on top of the Divide, with my feet in the creek— . . . I thought of the symbolic significance of the fact that this perhaps was the center of the center of gravity of the whole world, and just at that moment, in my reverie, I dropped my sandwich in the water.

*Cheyenne, Wyoming, 1952*

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TOLD BY THE GOVERNOR

When the U. S. O. comes in your community and says "organize," don't take the attitude that the lady did when she went to a department store, bought a lot of merchandise, and said, "Charge it," and then said, "Thank God, that's paid!"

# december

## United Nations

The will to peace cannot be legislated. It must be developed, and it can only be developed by organized, patient effort. The laws and institutions of international cooperation have to evolve out of a combination of the common aspirations and experience of the peoples of the world.

*London, 1945*

## Listing of a Governor

Stevenson Adlai Gov'r 5th & Jackson - - - - - 4604

*Springfield, Ill., Telephone Directory, 1951*

## Human Welfare

The problems of human welfare are uppermost in men's minds and we must attack them with the same missionary zeal that we attacked the saving of men's souls long ago.

*Chicago, 1949*

## Wisdom

There is always a danger, particularly before an audience of experts, of trying to say too much.

*American Public Welfare Assn., Chicago, 1950*



Peace

I believe this is a time for greatness, and that America has unfathomed resources of greatness.

Difference

There is nothing to fear in difference; this is in fact one of the healthiest and most invigorating of human characteristics without which life would become lifeless.

Personal

Moderation in eating, drinking and smoking commences with mental control and then becomes a habit.

Philosophy

Sometimes we get so mired down in the problems of today that we forget the possibilities of tomorrow.

The Creeps

I'm no more in favor of socialism than anybody else, and I particularly dislike things which creep. But, if I don't like "creeping socialism," there's something else I dislike just as much—and that's galloping reaction.

Religion

It seems to me a sad commentary on contemporary life and certainly public life, that we are so busy doing that we have little time for thinking; that we are so busy with so much that is transitory we give all too little to the intransitory and enduring. Perspective is the victim of pressure. Yet the truth lies in reflection and meditation.

*Dedication of Temple Beth Israel, Chicago, December, 1951*

My Favorite Prayer

Lord, make me an instrument of your peace,  
Where there is hatred, let me sow love;  
Where there is injury, pardon;  
Where there is doubt, faith;  
Where there is despair, hope;  
Where there is darkness, light;  
Where there is sadness, joy.

O Divine Master, grant that I may not so much seek  
To be consoled as to console;  
To be understood, as to understand;  
To be loved as to love  
For it is in giving that we receive;  
It is in pardoning that we are pardoned;  
It is in dying, that we are born to eternal life.

*St. Francis of Assisi*

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